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596 554 Individual status also improved with education, more particularly with the attainment of a degree in the official examinations and appointment to official position. An individual's educational or official career was usually dependent on the willingness and ability of the family to support him during a long period of study. A particularly promising youngster of a poor family might occasionally be underwritten by the clan or village. Whatever his means of fianancial support, his success in the exams was a reflection of proper upbringing and honored his family and, to a lesser extent, his clan and village almost as much as himself. The wealth usually accumulated by an official during his career also materially enhanced the village and clan as well as the family. For these reasons, reflected glory accrued to the kin of an illustrious scholar or official for generations after his death.

C. Political Role

577 579 To a remarkable extent, the Chinese imperial system operated by moral suasion with a minimum use of force and without a developed, codified system of law. This achievement was made possible through the state's utilization of the family as a training

577 ground for loyalty to the state and the virtues
829 prized by it as part of the machinery of government. The root virtue of filial piety was extolled above all others in the Confucian system. It denoted not only the obedience and devotion of the son to his father but of the younger brother to the elder, and of the subject to the ruler.

618 Two types of organizations built on the foundation of the family were utilized by the state in maintaining peace and uniformity throughout the empire. One was the clan, or tsu. It bound together families with a common ancestor to promote their security and advancement. Relying for strength on the maximizing and formalizing of kinship ties, the tsu reinforced the authority of the family head and the values he imparted to the younger generation. The tsu settled disputes between families, conducted ancestor rites for any member of a family whose line died out, provided help and protection in times of trouble for the lower class members, and safeguarded the social and economic position of the well-to-do. Where the tsu was strong, it governed the village with little interference from the central government, except in matters of high crime and taxes. The advantages to the Confucian state of the tsu were deemed sufficient to compensate for its encroachment on the

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training process. An editorial in the People's Daily in mid-1955 pointed out the "deep solicitude" of the goverment toward children, made manifest by the establishment of nurseries and schools and the teaching of proper attitudes toward children and the correct methods for educating them. "The new Socialist generation" was to be brought up "physically strong, courageous, honest, fond of study, patriotic, and imbued with collective spirit." The editorial also stated that trade unions were to help office employees and workers to learn how to educate their children: Teachers and directors of the Young Pioneers were to assume the "important responsibility" of guiding children in classrooms, meetings, and extra-curricular activities.[36]

With the Communist regime's emphases on youth, loyalty to the state, socialist construction, and the rooting out of feudalistic and bourgeois ideas, the problem of the proper attitude of youth toward parents need clarification. An article on the subject in the January 1955 issue of China Youth emphasizes that "respect for one's parents is part of...individual or social Communist morals," but the attitude "must be governed by the interests of the Revolution." If the parents are counterrevolutionaries, they should not be respected but treated as enemies;

36. Ibid., 1064, pp. 11-13.

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593 577 if they are counterrevolutionaries who have been pardoned by the people and are still able to work, they should be made to "reform" through labor, and should not be pitied or helped. Only if they are unable to support themselves should they be aided by the children, "for if the children do not support them, then the burdenwill fall on the state, which is obviously undesirable." As to bourgeois parents, they should normally be shown respect and concern; but if they break the law, "the children should justly and dispassionately examine their crime." Working class parents "should of course be respected, loved, and taken care of." They should not be discriminated against or ridiculed because of the shortcomings they have inherited from the old regime, but "should be patiently persuaded to see the light."[37]

V. EAST CHINA REGION

A. Disparity of Family Life

596 178 The widest diversity in the nature and function of the family is to be found in the East China Region. Kiangsu was the most industrialized province in China proper (excluding Manchuria) before World War II, and the trends forced by

37. Ibid., 973, pp. 30-32.

181 In discussing certain attitudes and values
LL8 we should bear in mind that the power of the old and the appeal of the new vary not according to regions but according to social groups. It was among the population of modern cities like Shanghai that the old values were first challenged by the pressures of modern problems, but among the peasantry and rural gentry, despite many discontents and tensions, the old ways still prevailed.[32] Intellectuals and members of the new industrial and commercial groups were the first to discard traditional attitudes and adopt Western values; among other groups this process was slower. These variations affect Communist tactors to the extent that different kinds of persuasion are used with different groups. But the final goal is adoption of the attitudes and values decreed by the Communist leadership.

A. Good and Bad

183 In traditional China the prevailing belief was
579 that man was inherently good and that social harmful behavior occurred only when men lacked guidance or were placed in adverse circumstances. For example, if the ruler of the state or his officials or the father of the family failed to provide for the basic physical needs of individuals, their dependents were likely to rebel. Or if those in authority failed to provide instruction, particularly if they failed to set an example in conduct, then those subordinate to them would have no guideposts to the good and would fall into evil ways.

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35. For example, as later as 1941-43, one anthropologist found in rural Yunan that the traditional value of hsiao (filial submission) was
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Bad conduct was not, as in the West, violation of the laws of God but deviation from the age-old norms of acceptable social behavior. Specifically, behavior was categorized as "bad" if it went against such prescribed norms as the following: (1) hsiao, filial submission to fathers and elders; (2) chung, loyal and submissive devotion to superiors; (3) hsin, good faith among friends and associates; (4) jen, benevolence or fellow-feeling which should inform all social relationships; (5) i, righteousness in one's dealings with others; (6) Li (good form), accepted procedures in human relations; (7) lien, integrity; and (8) ch'ih, sense of shame.

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The laws of imperial China provided heavy punishments for violations of these norms; the most heinous crimes were those against hsiao, filial submission. Yet the ideal in the application of law was not blindfold justice but punishment administered with due regard for "human feeling" [jen-ch'ing] and for the specific circumstances surrounding the crime. This attitude is illustrated in the old proverb: "There is one thing worse than a dishonest official and that is an honest official,"

32.[continued] still, as it had been for centuries, "the foundation stone...of social organization,...the measuring stick of all behavior and of the worth of the individual.

183 which expressed disapproval of a rigorous enforcement of rules and regulations, of an enforcement
689 that fails to take into account "human feelings."[33]
577 The crteria for judging behavior as good or bad were therefore neither religious nor legalistic, but were the prevailing normas in the community, the customary practices sanctioned by tradition and ratified by a high degree of community consensus.

577 In traditional Chinese goodness could be
829 cultivated through practice, study, and contemplation. Confucianism held that the path to goodness was open to all, that those who attained a high order of goodness should be a moral elite, a group of exemplars for others. This moral elite was also, in Confucian theory, the group which should hold and exercise poltical power and enjoy the rewards of status and wealth. This nation sanctioned the long political dominance of the scholar-official.

577 The Chinese Communists have laid out new standards of good and bad. In the words of their leading theoretician, their aim is "...to reform mankind into the completely selfless citizenry of a Communist society."[34] In setting the new standards the Communists have consciously and unconsciously selected concepts from traditional moral

33. Ruth Bunzel and John Weakland, "An Anthropological Approach to Chinese Communism Columbia Univ. Research in Contemporary Cultures, New York, 1952, pp. 80-81. Hereafter cited as Bunzel-Weakland.

34. Liu Shao-ch'i, "The Training of the Communist Party Member," first presented as a speech in 1939; cf. trans. in Boyd Compton, Mao s China, Seattle, 1952, p. 146.

577 ideas; some have been discarded, others have been taken over with little adaptation; still others linger between the lines and in the implications of Communist utterances.

596 577 The old virtues associated with the traditional family have been discarded because the old family system has been dissolved, its functions taken over by the modern conjugal family on the one hand and by state and Party organizations on the other.[35] Familial virtues are castigated as "feudal" and as backward features of what the leadership calls "the squalid old society of China."[36]

829 The basic Marxist dogma that the individual is molded by his class position and, indirectly, by the "stage of the society into which he is born, has a good deal in common with the Confucian view of the prime importance of environment in the formation of character. Thus the Communist effort to create a new society, in both traditional Chinese and Marxist terms, will create favorable environment for the development of individual goodness. But the "goodness" expected is different: "To sacrifice the individual for the sake of the Party, for the sake of the class, for national liberation, or the liberation of mankind, even to sacrifice one's own life without the slightest hesitation, with a feeling of happiness -- this is the highest expression of Communist morality...."[37]

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35. J. M. H. Lindbeck, "Communist Policy and the Chinese Family," Far Eastern Survey, #20, (July 25, 1951), pp. 137-41.

36. Liu Shao ch'i, quoted in Nivison, Communist Ethics and Chinese Tradition, Stanford

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ments, and extradition was possible only with the approval of the Shanghai Municipal Council (or the French Municipal Council for the French Settlement), which was not often granted. Police expenses accounted for 40 to 50 per cent of the annual budget of the Shanghai Municipal Council from 1855 to 1941, but even this remarkably heavy allotment did not achieve a rule of law and morality.

Shanghai was a place where two civilizations met and where neither prevailed. To the foreigners, it was out of bounds, beyond the knowledge or supervision of their own culture, where each man was a law unto himself, or where he easily adjusted to the prevailing *mores* with no qualms of conscience. Morality was irrelevant or meaningless in Shanghai, an atmosphere which was apparent to even the casual visitor. The fact that Shanghai was also a major port of call and naval station helped to prosper this attitude; sailors often formed a majority of the foreign population.* For the Chinese, Shanghai was equally off limits. Those who had chosen this new kind of life, like the merchants, were by that choice cut off from traditional China and from the sanctions which it imposed. Others who drifted to the city during famines or civil wars, or were kidnapped from the country as domestic servants, had by definition lost their family connections, which in traditional China was total physical and moral destitution. Small wonder that many of them turned to prostitution.

On top of this was the continually fluctuating population. Few people, Chinese or foreign, came to the city with the hope of remaining there long; most of them aimed to make a fortune in a few years and then to leave. Many of them did remain, but so did the frenzied atmosphere. The international, intercultural nature of the city added to its excitement. Foreign hotels found it necessary to advertise their ability to speak with patrons in English, French, German, and Russian as a minimum. Concerned missionaries and visiting judges contended with this tempting and stimulating situation in vain. It remained for the Communist administration of the city after 1949 to substitute their familiar order of austerity and

* The city gave its name to the practice of kidnapping men to work ships whose crews had found Shanghai's attractions too great. Both foreigners and Chinese were "Shanghaied" by roving gangs, often in search of coolie labor for East or West Indian plantations as well as of crews.